

Some Seasonable

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REMARKS

Upon the Deplorable Fall

OF THE

EMPEROUR

JULIAN,

With an EPISTLE of his

TO THE

CITIZENS of BOSTRA.

Now made ENGLISH.

By PHILARETUS ANTHROPOPOLITA.

*Cæterum intra Ecclesiam potestates necessariae non
essent, nisi ut quod non prævalent Sacerdotes
efficere per Doctrinæ Sermonem Potestas hæc
impetret per Disciplinæ terrorem. Major de
Gestis Scotorum, Lib. III. Cap. XV.*

L O N D O N :

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Some Seasonable REMARKS

Upon the deplorable Fall of the Emperour

JULIAN.

HAd not our Holy Religion degenerated much from its Native goodness, and the integrity in which our Saviour Jesus and his blessed Followers left it, it would have been indeed admirable that any once instructed in it, and much more so excellent a person as *Julian*, should ever desert it. For men of wild and extravagant tempers, and wholly unacquainted with solid Philosophie and good reason, of which our present Age too much abounds, to be easily seduc'd by our Modern Revivers of the Epicurean folly, is no more strange, than that all Brutal Natures are prone to follow their untam'd inclinations; but for a person severely Vertuous, profoundly Speculative, admirably Learned and Eloquent; and (which is yet more) firm and positive in the belief of a

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Deity,

Deity, and future life, to relinquish a Religion of so much genuine Piety, and simple innocence as ours is, for the fond Superstitions of Heathens and gross Idolaters, would be not only unaccountable, but above measure stupendious, did we not find the lamentable causes of it in the debauched Christianity of those times; I mean the times of the two Emperours, *Constantine*, and *Constantius*; for then first our Religion was converted into Faction, Polite, and vile Hypocrisie. Till then, *Christ's* faithful Followers had learnt no other Lessons than those of Fasting, Praying, Mortifying the Flesh, Patient and humble suffering, mutual love and forbearance, and living in common; the greatest being not in Name, but reality Servants to the meanest. But now having got Ambitious and Dissolute Princes of their Party, instead of teaching them their Vertues, themselves learnt their Vices. And now it was the Voice was heard from Heaven, *Persecution is fallen into the Church*. But since I am fallen upon the mention of that hard and sowre word *Church*, I think it not amiss, nor impertinent to this place, to insert a brief account of the ancient Discipline used among Christians, without which the corruption and ambition of *Constantines*

stantines Clergy, the undoubted spawn of Popery, can never well be discerned, Our blessed Saviour Christ then having publicly before *Pontius Pilate* declared his *Kingdom* was *not of this world*; and not only so, but refused to arbitrate privately betwixt two Brothers, as being neither *Judge* nor *Divider* among them; and having over and above this, strictly prohibited any priority among his followers, and that not only by words, but by wonderful Example, himself condescending to the most servile Office of washing their feet; cannot be supposed in contradiction to all this, to have erected a Spiritual Jurisdiction, or a Corporation of Priests, empowr'd Arbitrarily to Enact Laws, and to force all Orders of men, if once Christians, to pay humble and implicate Obedience to them; and this upon pain of forfeiting their whole right to publick Reputation and Humane Converse, nay Religion, and Eternal Salvation it self.

Nor do we anywhere find in Scripture that he ever did *de facto* institute any Form of Government, either by *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, or *others*: but of this see the excellent Author of *Irenicum*, or *Weaponsalve*, at large. True indeed, he once said, *Dic Ecclesie, Tell the Con-*
vention,

tion ; but those are not words of Institution , but suppose that *Convention* already in being ; as well as the *Judgment* and *Council*, mentioned in *Matth. 5*. What then shall we say ? Must he not of necessity be supposed to have directed his Disciples to Associate , as all other Sects of *Jews* did , according to the Form of Politie then in use ? Yes surely, if he was no *Judge* nor *Divider* , nor had any *Earthly Kingdom*. Is this my single opinion , or doth not the incomparable *Gratius* upon *Acts 13*. assert the same in these full words: *Totum regimen Ecclesiarum Christi conformatum est ad Exemplar Synagogarum.* The whole Government of Christs Churches was shap'd to the Model of the Synagogues , or Mosaisk Form of Politie. And certainly , had not this been true, our Saviour would never have predicted it as one of the calamities his faithful followers should endure for his sake, to be Expell'd the Synagogues, but rather the contrary, to be forc'd to them.

What these Synagogues were, is superfluous to mention , since the Learned so well know, that most of the Judicatures of those antient Nations, which we have any account of, were Consecrated Temples , intended for the management of Divine and Humane Affairs jointly :

ly : Such were the *Roman Curia*, the *Athenian Areopagus*, the *Dalphiack Temple*, the *Conventions* of the *Hebrews*, and their *Temple at Hierusalem*. But the *Israelitick Conventions*, called in Greek sometime *Synagoga*, and sometime *Ecclēstie*, were made up of as many Freemen of their respective Burroughs, (for so the world was antiently model'd) as at the voice of a Cryer, or the winding of a Horn, would assemble; the Town-Council call'd the *Presbytery* or *Senate*, with their Chief, ever presiding. This prime man, call'd in *Greek Archon*, *Archisynagogue*, or *Episcopus*, for so (*Judg. 9. 28.*) *Zebul* Mayor of *Shechem* is stiled by the *Septuagint*, was to superintend and manage the *Convention*, and the *Council* call'd *Presbyters* in *Greek*, and in *Latine Seniores*, being men of Age, Gravity, and Prudence, were to weigh and examine matters brought before them, and to direct and advise the *Commoners*; and in fine, the whole Body or *Nads* was to give Suffrage; and this in all Causes whatsoever, whether Sacred or Civil, except some few, which being very weighty, were reserved for the Cognizance of the *Amphictyones* of the Nation, I mean the Seventy two wise Representatives of the Tribes, call'd the *Synedrion*, or *Grand Council*, who sat in
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the Temple or Divine Oracle at *Hierusalem*; the Priests then making no distinct State from the rest, but Voting in common with others, whatever Figure any of them happened to make, either in the *Synedrion*, or the lesser *Conventions*; their peculiar work being not Government, but Sacrificing, &c. But that the *Synagogues* were really Civil Courts, is plain from those many passages in the New Testament, that mention Trials in them for *Adultery* and other Crimes, as also the Apostles being persecuted and whipped in them; which certainly could not have been, if they had been meer Oratories like our Churches. But the Jewish story of *Susanna* among our Apocryphal Books, puts the controverſie out of all question, which very well deserves the perusal; for though it be not Divinely inspired, yet it gives us a distinct and clear account of the manner of Trials in those antient *Conventions*. Now that the *Jews*, of which the Christians were a Sect, were so tenacious of their antient Rights and Form of Politie, that they kept up in all their Captivities and Peregrinations, their *Synagogues* or *Conventions*, with the same zeal they maintain'd their Religion and Rituals with, is so well known, that I need not here tell it.

But being now under the Jurisdiction of other Nations, and depriv'd of their *Jura Majestatis*, and so of the cognizance of matters Capital by their Laws, they could not punish in any case with Death, unless perchance sometimes either by a particular Licence or Connivance from their Superiours: To supply this necessary defect, they were forc'd to have recourse to *Expulsion* or *Banishment* from their Community, with a Form of Imprecation, or *Anathema*, whereby the Excommunicated was devoted to Divine Vengeance and the fury of the Penal *Dæmons*; a Custome common to them with the *Athenians* and antient *Romans*, who were wont to back all such Laws as they would have to be Sacred and Inviolable, with a dreadful Curse upon such as should presume to break them, or should break them and yet escape publick Justice. *Sacrate Leges* (saith *Festus*) *sunt quibus sanctum est, qui quid adversus eas fecerit, sacer alicui Deorum sit, cum familia pecuniâque.* Laws made Sacred are such as have a Clause in them, Ordering that whoever shall do any thing against them shall be Devoted to some one of the Gods, with his Family and Goods. That what I have affirmed of the Jews, is not by mere conjecture, I will pro-

duce one clear Testimony, which our Learned *Selden* quotes out of a Manuscript, in his first Book *De Synedrjjs*. The Author is one *Elias ben Moses*, by Sect a *Carle* or *Scripturist*, who speaks of *Benjamin ben Moses* thus ;

אמר בנימין בן דשה כי מי שנרשע במשפטי רוסים או
 בשאר דינים שלא דנים רגלות ישוב ויפוס ויקבל עליהם לא
 יקבל עליו משפט שרי נחרים אותו ונבדיל אותו ממנו
 שנת יחרם כל וכשו והוא יבדל ומקדל that is, *Rabbi*
Benjamin ben Moses said, That such as had
committed any foul Crime, or transgress'd in any
such case as might not be punished as the Law
required, in time of Captivity, was to repent
and make his Submission, with a promise of A-
menagement. But if he should refuse to promise
Obedience to the Divine Laws, we were to Ana-
thematize and Excommunicate him, as it is writ-
ten, (Ezra 10. 8.) His goods shall be Anathe-
matiz'd, and himself Excommunicated from the
Cahal, or Ecclesia. Which Text was not un-
derstood by our Translators, nor by the Lear-
ned Grotius himself, who is in the same errour
with them. And that this was put in practice
by the Jews upon the Primitive Christians, I
authentically prove by the Authority of St. Ju-
stin Martyr in his incomparable Dialogue with
Tryphon the Jew. Kai ου (saith he) τὸς ἀνέκωτας

ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ πέμψαντα αὐτὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ ποιητὴν
 τοῦ ὅλων θεὸν ἀδεύειτε, καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἀπαιτεῖτε, κατα-
 ρώμησοι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ὑμῶν τοὺς πικρύνοντας ἐπὶ τὸ χρεῖσθαι,
 ἢ ὃ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε ἀντοχείας ἡμεῶν ἡμῶν ἄλλα τὰς νῦν ὀπι-
 κρατούντας, ὅσους ὅ αν' ἐδωκέναιτε καὶ τούτοις ἐπεράξατε. that
 is ; And still you set at nought such as confide in
 him, and in the Universal and Sovereign Crea-
 tour that sent him, and do what you are able to
 expose them ; while you curse in your Synagogues
 those that trust in Christ. For you have not li-
 cense your selves (mark) to become our Murderers,
 because of the present Powers : though as oft as
 you could, you have not been sparing in that too.
 This much I think is more than sufficient to
 evince the perfect consent there was betwixt
 the Christians and other parties of Jews, in
 their Civil, or (if you will) Ecclesiastick Po-
 litie.

But because I know it will still seem strange
 to most, whatever the *Judaick* Politie was, that
 the Christian *Ecclesie* should be accounted
 Popular, our Episcopists holding them to have
 been a kinde of little Monarchies, and the
 Presbyterians Aristocracies, I'll subjoyn a word
 or two of undeniable proof. Besides that, the
 Blessed Apostles, and the Holy Men of the
 Apostolick Age, St. Clement, St. Polycarp, and

St. *Ignatius* direct their Letters of Instructions, for the most part, neither to one single person, nor yet to a stinted number of people, but to whole *Conventions*: St. *Paul* in his first to the *Corinthians*, chap. 5. expressly charges them all in full *Synagogue*, συναχθῆσαν ὑμεῖς (saith he) to deliver the incestuous person to Satan for his Correction, without once mentioning the Clergy-man, or his Keys. Nay, (which is yet more) when the whole Colledge of Apostles were congregated at *Hierusalem*, (*Act.* 15.) to consider the debates at *Antioch* about the *Mosaick* Rituals, they presume not to write infallible Letters by their own Authority, but regularly convene the People, and then make their several Harangues to them. And (*v.* 22.) the Apostles, Presbyters, and the whole *Ecclesia*, or *Convention*, pass an order for the drawing up of their sense into the form of an Epistle, which runs thus, (*v.* 23.) *The Apostles, Elders and Brethren, &c.* And (*v.* 25.) its Authentickness is expressed thus, ἐδοξεν ἡμῖν συνοικίαις ὁμοθυμαδόν, *We thought fit in full Convention, &c.* And in fine, (*v.* 28.) *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.* By this may be seen, that in those times the Holy Ghost was not the Clergies peculiar, as it hath been thought

thought since, especially by those of *Simon's* trade. I'll adde the testimony of *Ignatius*, in his undoubted Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, because he is commonly thought a zealous Patron of the Clergie Interest. He there perswades the *Convention* to elect a Deacon for their Legate, to make a Visit to the *Convention* at *Antioch*, to which he had belonged, in these words, Πράπτειν ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὡς Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ἡ ἐρωτηθεῖσα διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι Θεῷ πρεσβείαν. *It becomes you as a Convention of God, to elect a Deacon to go as a Legate for God.* And then addes, Οἴλωμαι ὃ ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατ' ὄνομα Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἑτέραι Ἐκκλησίαι ἐπιμύσαν ἐπαρχέων, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους. that is, *It is no great matter, if you are but willing to do so much for God, since your Neighbouring Conventions have sent some of them Bishops, others Presbyters and Deacons.* But if none of this had been said, it would be more than plain to every unbyassed Reader of this good mans Epistles, that the Christian Politie was then rather faulty on the Popular side than otherwise; since so many *Conventions* of Pious and Holy Men had so great need to be instructed in their Duty of Subjection to their Bishops and Presbyteries, which, it should seem, in those good times was almost

almost wholly neglected : it being, as the ancient Commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians (believed to be St. Ambrose's) informs us, *Omnibus inter initia concessum & Evangelizare & Baptizare, & Scripturas in Ecclesiâ explanare.* Allowable for all Men at first to Preach, Baptize, and Expound the Scriptures in the Convention. All which Tertullian, no mean Authour in God's Church, asserts (in *Exhortat. ad Uxor.*) to be lawful still, as to any thing of Divine Right. *Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Reges quoque nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter Ordinem & Plebem constituit Ecclesiæ Auctoritas, & honor per concessum sanctificatus. Ideò ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est confessus, & offers & tingis, & Sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet Laica.* That is, Are not we that are Laymen Priests too? It is written, He hath made us Kings and Priests to God and his Father. The distinction betwixt the Bench of Presbyters and the Commoners, was made only for deference and respect to those that preside in the Convention. Wherefore where there is not a Convention-Bench thou thy self givest the Eucharist, Baptizest, and art thine own Priest. Yet where there are three, there is

a Convention, or Church, though but a Lay one.

It is most probable that the Disorders, that continually hapned in these Popular Churches, brought that Aristocracie, which St. *Hierome* in his Epistle to *Euagrius*, and after him the pious and learned Mr. *Calvin* and the Modern Presbyterians plead Prescription for, as being much more antient than the present Episcopacy. However, it could not keep long from devolving into the absolute Power of Bishops, who in process of time were themselves also swallow'd up by Patriarchs, and all at last by one *Demogorgon* Pope. In manner not unlike to this, the *Roman* Senate too (to compare great things with small) by trampling upon the poor Plebeians, brought the Usurper *Cesar*, with a whole train of Successors, upon their own heads. This second Alteration is noted, and not without some severity, by the antient Commentator upon the First Epistle to *Timothy*, supposed to be the above-mentioned St. *Ambrose* of *Milan*; *Et Synagoga (saith he) & postea Ecclesia Seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur; quod quâ negligentia absolverit, nescio; nisi fortè Doëtorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.*

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That is, *Both the Synagogue first* (mark the parity) *and the Church after, had its Seniours, which by what neglect it hath come to be disused, I know not; unless perchance through the sloath of Prelates, or (as I rather think) their Ambition to seem somebody alone.*

Much more I might say, if my purpose were to be large; but this much I could not omit, to shew by what steps the flock of Christ came at last to be a prey to the Avarice and Ambition of Bishops, in the time of our unhappy Emperour *Julian*; in so much that they were tamely led, or violently driven, like beasts by Graziers, to fulfil the brutish Passions and Interests of those that managed them.

To return to our first Discourse then, this discerning Prince soon saw their Designe was to erect in all parts of the Empire their own *Mosaick* or *Ecclesiastick* Politie, by themselves Metamorphos'd from a Democracy into an Absolute Tyranny: they having advanced so far already, as to procure of *Constantine* the sole Jurisdiction over Christians, and leave to Assemble themselves at *Nice*, to divide the *Roman* Provinces among themselves, and make a new Body of Laws, called *Ecclesiastical Canons*, to the utter abolishing of the *Roman* Laws

Laws and Government, and the great Oppression of those Gentiles whom God had not yet enlightned with his Grace.

He saw moreover that let a Christian be never so deeply Criminal, no profane hand must touch him; nor must he endure any other Punishment, than *Confession and Penance*; and that when once Absolved, he was as innocent as the unborn Child. Which practice of theirs in process of Time almost ruined their Empire; For not reflecting, that as Hebrews and a conquered People, they had (as was above shew'd) been despoiled of their *Jura Majestatis*, and so of the use of the Sword in cases of Blood, it never came into their minds to petition *Constantine* for the Restitution of their antient Rights; but contemplating the perpetual practice of their Ancestors, since Christianity only, held on in their now long-accustom'd track of Anathematizing, supposing it to have been of the same Divine Right with their Religion; until at last, all men, good and bad, promiscuously crowding into the Church, to be of the Religion in vogue, they found their Government become impracticable, and thereupon were forced to disgorge what they could not concoct, and to

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refund the cognizance of Capital and other arduous matters to the old Pagan Civil Laws and Magistracy, which by this means have been through God's Mercy continued down to our Times, where they begin again to grow verdant and to threaten Retaliation to the usurping Priesthood.

Adde to this, that he could see no Person nor Rank exempted from the dire *Anathema*. Neither could he know, but that the Sovereign Prince himself might upon a Pique, such as the disgrace of a potent Prelate, be on a sudden Paganized, and next Assassinated even by them that had advanc'd him, since he so lately saw *Constans* armed against his own Brother *Constantinus*, by the Roman Bishop and the great *Athanasius*, merely because the latter had been outed his See, though as some say, for Treason, Sorcery, and Murder. And what indeed might he not justly fear, when he saw with what bestial Rage the several Factions the Bishops form'd themselves among the people, by whom they were then Elected, did massacre each other. If a man, as imagine it were at *Alexandria*, had a Designe to supplant a more potent and popular Competitor, no way so like to ruine him, as by giving out, that

that he was not a right Christian, but a corrupter of the true Faith, for that he used to read *Origen* and *Plato*, unsanctified Authors; and then ten to one but he was knockt on the head, either by the Rabble of the Town, or by shoals of *Anthropomorphite* Monks, who commonly made what Bishops they pleased, and for a long time made a prey of the *Egyptian* Kingdome, as well as of later years of our own; but now God hath delivered us, by the means of a great and generous Prince, from this sort of *Egyptian* Vermin, who restored our Religion to its Primitive Candour and Ingenuity, partly in his own Person, and partly by his Son and Daughter of Eternal Memory, who obliged their Spiritual as well as Temporal Subjects to swear Fealty to them, as their Ecclesiastick (since there must be that distinction) as well as Civil Supremes.

But to return whence I diverted; I am perswaded nothing offended him so much, as the vile Hypocrisie of the then Clergy, who besides their coyning of contrary Creeds, in the Reigns of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, and modelling Religion by Court-Intrigues, seemed almost wholly to dispense with Morality, placing Sanctimony not so much in a good Life, as in

Religion from *Constantine's* Bishops, but from Christ immediately. Ho! *whosoever is either Sodomite, Murderer, Rogue or Villain, let him dread nothing but repair hither, with this water I'll make him clean in a trice: And if he shall happen (as humane Nature is frail) to repeat the same Crimes, if he will but thump his breast, and box his noddle, I'll warrant him as innocent as the Child unborn.* This was the vengeance *Julian* took for the Barbarous Murders committed upon almost his whole Family and Blood.

These particulars I thought fit to recount, omitting many others, such as the discountenancing and persecuting men of honest and Primitive Principles, free Learning and sound Philosophy, because above their Emulation; and paying devout Visits to the Bones of dead Friars, calling them *Holy Reliques*, and such like. But that I may not be thought to obtrude my own Sentiments for *Julian's*, I will adventure to Translate an Epistle of his to the Citizens of *Bosra*, who had been in some disorders, by reason, as it should seem, of a Toleration allow'd by *Julian* to the yet unconverted Heathens of that Town.

JULIAN to the BOSTRENS.

I Thought verily the *Galilean* Prelates would have accounted themselves better obliged by me, than they were by my Predecessour. Since in his time many of them Suffer'd Exile, Persecution and Imprisonment; may whole Corporations of them they term Hereticks, were put to the Sword: Insomuch that at *Samosata*, *Cyzicum*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia* and many other Countreys, whole Towns were laid level with the Earth. The clean contrary to which has been in my time. For such as had been Exiled I called home, and to such as had been Proscrib'd, I restor'd their own entire. But to that pitch of bestial Outrage are they arriv'd, that since they may not still act the Tyrants, nor as men above the controul of Laws, I perpetrate what they did formerly, not only upon us, that reverence the Gods, but upon one another too; they leave no stone unturn'd, and have the impudence to raise Tumults and Insurrections among the people; practising neither Piety to the Gods, nor Obedience to our Laws, though so gentle and humane to them.

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Wherefore we will have none of them hal'd to our Altars, but contrariwise do hereby straightly charge them, that if any of them shall hereafter of his free minde desire to participate with us in our Religious Rites, that he first offer Expiatory Sacrifice, and propitiate the averting Deities. So far are we from being fond of their communion, that it cannot so much as once enter into us, that any persons so impious as they, can be at all qualified to participate of our holy Sacrifices, before he hath purged his Minde by supplicating the Gods, and his Body by the usual Purgations. To me it is plain that the People, by the seduction of those they call *Clergie*, do raise these stirs, and all because they are restrained their former Excesses. For having once enjoy'd a Tyranny of their own, they cannot be contented with Impunity for their past Crimes, but still thirst for their former Domination; and because they may not play the Judges, nor make peoples *Wills*, and possess themselves of other mens Patrimonies, and so get all into their own clutches, they leave no base nor unlawful design unattempted; but as the Saying is, *Pile fire upon fire*; and are so daring as to adde to their former Villanies fresh.

fresh ones, much greater than them, enraging the people, to create Disorders. Wherefore I thought fit by this publick Declaration to forewarn all good people, that they tumultuate not with their *Clergie*, nor be perswaded by them to take up stones, nor to oppose their Superiours. Let them congregate with them as long as they shall think good, and say what Prayers they shall appoint them, so it be for themselves only. But if they shall go about to Preach them into Rebellion, let them give ear to them at their utmost peril. I the rather give this warning unto the good Citizens of *Bosra*, because Bishop *Titus* and his *Clergy*, to purge themselves, have impeach'd them; saying, That they had indeed done their utmost to qualifie them, but that they were ungovernable. I have therefore specified in this my Declaration the words the Bishop had the face to insert into his Defense; *Though the Christians (saith he) were not inferior to the Greeks in number, yet I did my best to pacifie them.* These are your Bishops very words of you. Mark, I pray you, how he imputes your quietness to himself, not to you. You are, if he say true, restrained, not by your own good Inclinations, but by his perswasions.

swasions. Expel him your City as your common Accuser. You Lay-men live in peace one with another, and let none of you act either Opposition to the Government, or Injustice to your Neighbours. Neither do you, abused and mistaken people, offer any wrong to those that lawfully and truly serve the Gods according to antient Custome; nor do you, the true Worshippers of the Gods, either molest the Families or ravage the Goods of those that are misled through Simplicity and Ignorance. Men ought to be brought over by Reason and Perswasion, and not by ill Usage, Blows, or Stripes. I again and again strictly charge all such as are Followers of true Piety, no wise to injure, affront or abuse the *Galilean* Laity. For such as act erroneously in greatest matters, are rather objects of Commiseration than Hatred. Now as Piety is the best of Goods, so is Impiety the worst of Ills. And such as relinquish the Immortal Gods for the Bones and Reliques of dead men, are sufficiently punisht by the exchange they make. We ever compassionate persons involv'd in Calamities, as we congratulate those whom the Gods have deliver'd.

Dat. Antioch. Aug. 1.

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The Epilogue:

ALL pious Christians will, I know, read the Impieties of this unfortunate Apostate and Enemy of our true Faith, with just and due abhorrence; but they will withal, I am perswaded, admire to find the Execrable Plots and Villanous Intrigues of the *Roman Ecclesiasticks* and their Dependents (not to charge one Old-man with the common blame) so long since either truly exemplified or at least sagaciously predicted, and that by a great Monarch of the greatest Empire the Sun hath yet seen: And not only these, but the intemperate and feeble Passions also of the otherwise good men of our Times, who while they pretend to instruct us, do themselves under the pretext either of Government on the one hand, or of Conscience on the other, so shamefully violate that grand and once indispenfable Precept of Charity, delivered them and us by our Saviour Christ. As if the Contest were not so much who should be most like to him, or most conformable to the Divine Precepts delivered by him, as who hath most right to abuse, Burlesque and expose the rest; and that person were most happy, who could procure a Priviledge or Patent from God or Man for so doing. Let such men read the Epistle above, and blush at the equal candour and impartial Charity of a Heathen, and for the future study to recover the Reputation of decay'd Christianity by better cultivating its Essentials, Piety, Loyalty, Charity, Sobriety and mutual Forbearance. In fine, however Clergy differ in smaller points, such as School Subtleties, Rituals, Jurisdiction over us, Humour or Interest, let not the honest Laity intermeddle, much less espouse their Quarrels, unless they shall desire them, as in times of Primitive and Impolitick Christianity, to give their Suffrage among them.

Ire-

Irenicum Pag. 398. Representing the Judgments of our first Reformers, concerning Ecclesiastick Politie.

Soon after were called together by the Kings special order, the former select Assembly at Windsor-Castle, where met (as far as I can guess by the several Papers delivered in by every one of them singly, and subscribed with their own hands, all which I have perused) these following persons, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Rochester, Edmund Bishop of London, Robert Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. George Day, Dr. Thomas Robertson, Dr. J. Redmayne, Dr. Edward Leighton, Dr. Simon Matthew, Dr. William Tresham, Dr. Richard Cozen, Dr. Edgeworth, Dr. Owen Oglethorp, Dr. Thyrliby. These all gave in their several Resolutions in Papers, to the Questions propounded, with their Names subscribed, (a far more prudent way than the confusion of verbal and tedious Disputes) all whose judgments are accurately summed up, and set down by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Their Resolutions contain distinct Answers to several sorts of Questions propounded to them. The first set contained several Questions about the Mass, about the Instituting, Receiving, Nature, Celebration of it; and whether in the Mass it be convenient to use such Speech as the people may understand; whether the whole were fit to be Translated, or only some part of it; with several other Questions of the same nature. The second set is more pertinent to our purpose, wherein are Seventeen Questions proposed to be resolved; Ten of them belong to the number of Sacraments, the other Seven concern Church-Government. The Questions are these.

Q. 9. *Whether the Apostles lacking a higher power, or in not having a Christian King, among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by Authority given them of God?*

10. *Whether Bishops or Priests were first; and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop?*

11. *Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture or no; and whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?*

12. *Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of any Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient?*

13. *Whether (if it fortun'd a Prince Christen learned, to Conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but the Temporal Learned men with him) it be defended by Gods Laws, that he and they should Preach and Teach the Word of God there or no, and also make and Constitute Priests or no?*

14. *Whether it be forfended by Gods Law, that if it so fortun'd that all the Bishops and Priests were dead, and that the word of God should be there unpreached, the Sacrament of Baptism and others unministed, that the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same or no?*

16. *Whether a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes, and whether they only may Excommunicate by Gods Law?*

These are the Questions, to which the Answers are severally returned in distinct Papers, all of them bound together in a large Volume by Archbishop Cranmer, and every one subscribed their Names, and some their Seals to the Papers delivered in. It would be too tedious a work to set down their several Opinions at large; only for the deserved reverence all bear to the name and memory of that most worthy Prelate and glorious Martyr,
Archbishop

Archbishop Cranmer; I shall set down his Answer distinctly to every one of those Questions, and the Answers of some others to the more material Questions to our purpose.

To the Ninth Qu. All Christian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God, the whole cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the administration of Gods word for the cure of Souls, as concerning the ministration of things Political, and civil governance.

And in both these Ministrations, they must have sundry Ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several Offices.

The Civil Ministers under the Kings Majesty in this Realm of England, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in Authority under him; as for example, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treasurer, Lord great Master, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Admiral, Mayors, Sheriffs, &c.

The Ministers of Gods word under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests, as be appointed by his Highness to that Ministration; as for example, the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Winchester, the Parson of Wynwick, &c.

All the said Officers and Ministers, as well of the one sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected in every place by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes.

In the admission of many of these Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good Order and seemly Fashion. For if such Offices and Ministrations were committed without such Solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed.

And

And there is no more promise of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil. In the Apostles time, when there were no Christian Princes by whose Authority Ministers of Gods Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected; there was no remedy then for the correction of Vice, or appointing of Ministers, but only the consent of Christian Multitude among themselves, by an uniform Consent, to follow the Advice and Persuasion of such persons, whom God had most endued with the Spirit of Wisdom and Counsel. And at that time, forasmuch as Christian people (mark) had no Sword nor Governour among them, they were constrained of necessity to take such Curates and Priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and counsel, that they ought even of very Conscience to give credit unto them, and to except such as by them were presented. And so sometimes the Apostles, and others unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed Ministers of Gods word; sometime the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto; and when they were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the people of their own voluntary will with thanks did accept them; not for the Supremacy, Imperie or Dominion, that the Apostles had over them, to command as their Princes or Masters, but as good people (honestly said) ready to obey the advice of good Councillors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

To Qu. 10. The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one Office in the beginning of Christs Religion.

11. *A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scriptures, and so may Princes and Governours also, and that by the Authority of God committed them, and the People also by their Election. For as we read that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperours and Princes have done it. And the People (mark this) before Christian Princes were, commonly did elect their Bishops and Priests.*

12. *In the New-Testament, he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest, needeth no Consecration by the Scripture; for Election or appointing thereto is sufficient.*

13. *It is not against Gods Law, but contrary they ought in deed so to do; and there be Histories that witness, that some Christian Princes and other Laymen unconsecrate have done the same.*

14. *It is not forbidden by Gods Law.*

15. *A Bishop or a Priest, by the Scripture, is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate. But where the Laws of any Region give him Authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to use the same, in such Crimes as the Laws have such Authority in. And where the Laws of the Region forbid them, there they have no Authority at all. And they that be no Priests may also Excommunicate, if the Law allow thereunto.*

Thus far that excellent person, in whose Judgment nothing is more clear, than his ascribing the particular Form of Government in the Church to the determination of the Supreme Magistrate. This Judgment of his is thus subscribed by him with his own hand.

T. Cantuariens. This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this present, which I do not temerarily define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly to your Majesty.

Which

Which I have exactly transcribed out of the Original, and have observed generally the Form of Writing at that time used. In the same M. S. it appears, that the Bishop of St. Asaph, Thyrleby, Redman and Cox, were all of the same Opinion with the Archbishop, that at first Bishops and Presbyters were the same; and the two later expressly cite the Opinion of Jerome with approbation. Thus we see by the Testimony chiefly of him, who was instrumental in our Reformation, that he owned not Episcopacy as a distinct Order from Presbytery of Divine Right; but only as a prudent Constitution of the Civil Magistrate, for the better Governing the Church.

Thus far the worthy Authour of *Irenicum*, to which I subscribe and conclude.

FINIS.
